

Peasant personal names and bynames from late-eleventh-century Bury St Edmunds¹

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INTRODUCTION

Current scholarship regards the transition from bynames to hereditary surnames as a post-Conquest phenomenon, spreading from south to north and from the upper to lower strata of society over a period of more than 300 years, although for the earlier period it is often difficult even to distinguish between a colloquial byname applied to an individual in their daily life and an artificial scribal coining (McKinley 1990, 25–39; Clark 1992a, 469–71; Clark 1992b, 566–83; McClure 2007). There are exceptions: Æthelweard *mæw* (Old English *mæw* ‘seagull’), who founded Cranborne Abbey in the late tenth century, had a son who occurs both as Ælfgar son of *Mæw* and as Ælfgar *mæw* in the early eleventh century (Williams 1997, 41–46). Early examples such as this are uncommon, but Æthelweard *mæw* was a noble in southern England and such people entered the written record more often than most. For the general population, byname evidence is all too often lacking for the critical transitional period that is the eleventh and twelfth centuries, or else may not have been edited or analysed to modern standards. It is therefore

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especially valuable to have a list of some 700 named and often by-named minor tenants on some Suffolk estates of Bury St Edmunds abbey and apparently dating from only two decades after the Norman Conquest. It is on this list, its contexts and anthroponymic content that the present paper will focus, following with suitable trepidation in the footsteps of Cecily Clark and her initial survey of the material (Clark 1987).

The list is preserved in Cambridge, University Library, MS Mm.4.19, a composite volume assembled in the fourteenth century. Bound into the volume are remnants of the abbey's *Registrum Nigrum* that David Douglas dated to *c.* 1190 on the basis of palaeography and content, although material elsewhere in the Cambridge volume and apparently by the same scribe includes a charter datable to 1207 (Douglas 1932, xx–xxi; Thomson 1980, 16, 119–21; cf. Davis 1954, 126). The *Registrum Nigrum* includes an incomplete transcript of an earlier book that Douglas, its editor, called the 'Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin' (folios 124–43v; Douglas 1932, 3–44). This 'Feudal Book' is in three sections and according to its preamble records the lands of the abbey and its men both when 'at the order of King William a *descriptio* of the whole of England was made' (1086) and when 'the same king ... was alive and dead' (1087); a subsequent entry mentions 'King William [and] his successor [and] proper son William' (Douglas 1932, xlvi–xlvi, 3, 9).² The wording of the preamble may indicate two stages in the production of the original text, while that of the subsequent entry suggests that William II's accession in September 1087 was relatively recent.

The first two sections of the Feudal Book contain nearly 300 terse entries detailing the abbey's demesne and enfeoffed lands in Suffolk and

² Cambridge, University Library, MS Mm.4.19, fol. 124r: *Hec sunt maneria que habuit sanctus Ædmundus in suo domino. Et hec sunt terre suorum hominum quasi ipsi etiam tenuerunt tempore quo iussu regis Willelmi facta est descriptio tocius [sic] Anglie ... Hec tenuit sanctus et sui illo etiam die quo Rex idem qui prescriptus est uiuus erat et obiit; fol. 128r: ... regis Willelmi necnon successoris sui filii proprii Guillelmi... .*

Norfolk. Their content is clearly derived from documents generated for or by the *descriptio* of 1086 yet differs from that of the corresponding entries in Little Domesday Book (Douglas 1932, xlvi–lvii; Harvey 1971, 761; Roffe 2000, 109, 138–40).³ The third section (fols 134v–43v; Douglas 1932, 25–44) comprises the list of minor tenants with which we are mainly interested here. In the surviving transcript the list follows on from the survey of enfeoffed lands without any title or preamble beyond the name of the administrative hundred with which it starts. It itemizes some 700 tenants and their holdings at thirty-three estates in the Suffolk hundreds of Thedwestry and Blackbourn and the half-hundred of Cosford, and then breaks off abruptly after the first entry for the abbey’s estate at Kettlebaston. The holdings range from 1 carucate (120 acres) to half a rood ($\frac{1}{8}$ acre) and the average size is about 8 acres. Even if some individuals had more than one holding, therefore, the vast majority of the people named in the Bury list can reasonably be described as peasants (cf. Lennard 1959, 340–44; Faith 1997, 56–88, 140–43).

Three of the estates named in the Cosford section of the list have not yet been securely identified: *Huntefelde*, *Litlecerce* and *Lafham*. A plausible identification of *Huntefelde* as an alternative name for all or part of Whatfield has been made by Chris Lewis (forthcoming). *Litlecerce* appears to be from Old English *lytel cirice* ‘little church’ but does not occur again in abbey records and remains unidentified. *Lafham* probably refers to Layham in Cosford Half-Hundred, which occurs as *Leiham*, *Lafha(m)* and *Latham* in LDB and where the abbey had an estate of appropriate

³ References to Little Domesday Book (LDB) are by folio (with a for the recto and b for the verso) in the Alecto edition (Williams 2000); this is followed by a reference in brackets to the corresponding entry or entries (by shire, chapter and entry number) and notes in the Phillimore edition (Morris *et al.* 1975–92).

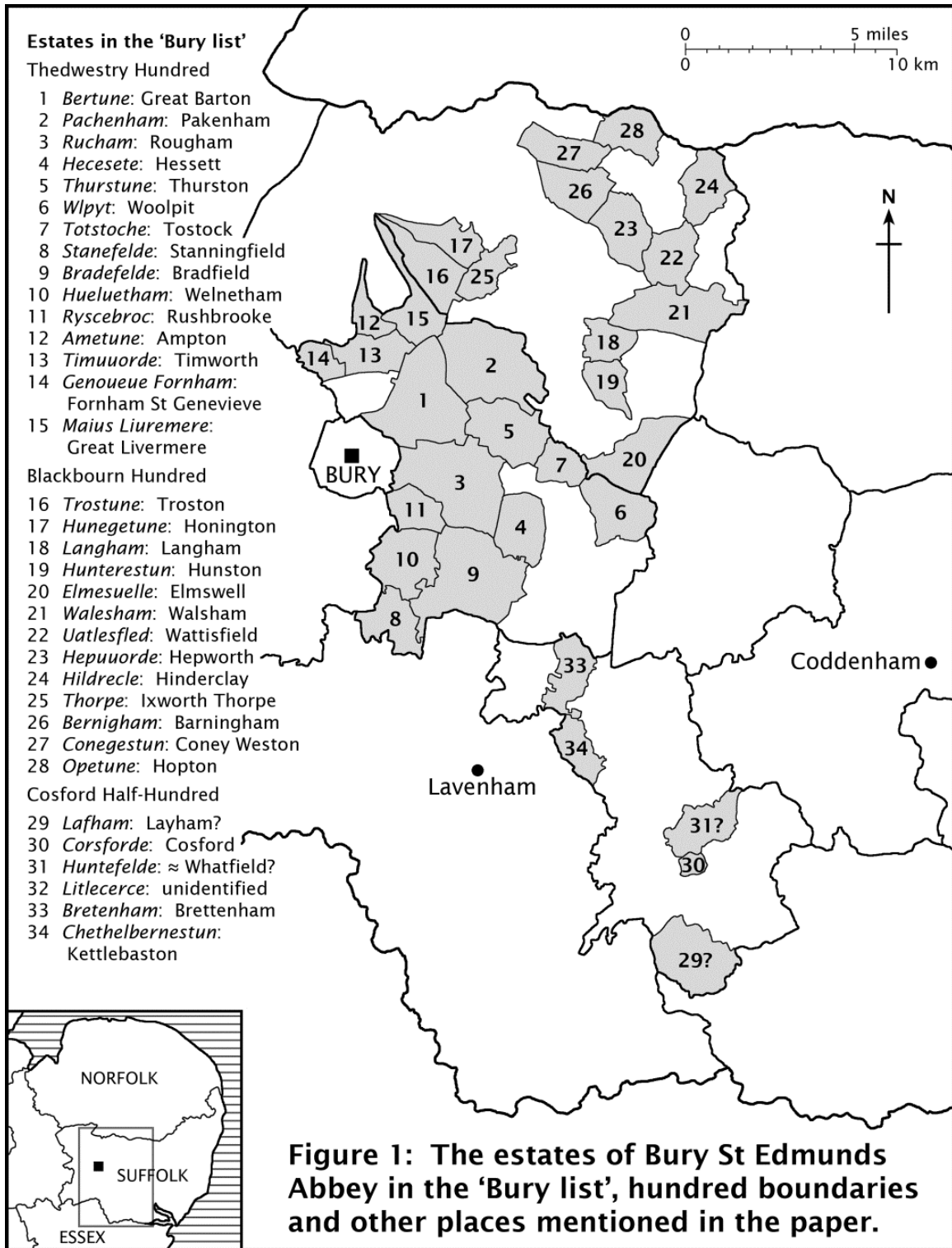


Figure 1: The estates of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the 'Bury list', hundred boundaries and other places mentioned in the paper.

size in 1086.⁴ However, Ralph Davis (1954, 59, n.1, 60, n.1) confused matters by noting that one *Siward de Lafham* recorded in Cosford Half-Hundred in the late-twelfth-century *Kalendar of Abbot Samson* occurs elsewhere as *Sinod de Lavenham*, which Davis identified as Lavenham in Babergh Hundred but where the abbey had no lands recorded in LDB. The waters are further muddied by an entry in LDB for an unidentified *Lafham* in Risbridge Hundred where the abbey held the soke of 24 acres in 1086.⁵ Nevertheless, Layham remains the most likely identification for the *Lafham* named in the Bury list and is mapped as such here.

DATING

The attribution of the Feudal Book to Baldwin's abbacy (August 1065–December 1097; on which Gransden 1981, 65–66, 187–88; Licence 2014, 107) and the date to which the contents of the Bury list pertain have been matters of debate. Douglas assessed the differences between the Feudal Book entries and those in LDB and concluded that the Feudal Book originated as a private survey prepared by the abbey for or from the lost returns of the *descriptio* of 1086 (Douglas 1932, xlvi–lxi, lxxv–lxxxvi, lxxx–lxxxii; cf. Harvey 1980, 761). He argued that all three sections of the Feudal Book were homogenous parts of this private survey and were compiled in their present form perhaps soon after William II's accession in 1087 and certainly before the death of Abbot Baldwin. Douglas concluded that the people in the Bury list were 'the Domesday freemen and sokemen', whose names are not given in LDB.

Others have disputed all or part of Douglas's assessment. Vivian Galbraith (1942, 167–68) agreed that the first two sections of the Feudal Book derived from a precursor of LDB but regarded them as a compilation made after Baldwin's death and that the third section, the Bury list, belonged to early in Henry I's reign (1100–35), although he provided no

⁴ LDB 288a, 368b, 403b, 420b, 432a (Suffolk 1,109; 14,110; 28,7; 36,16; 49,1; 61,2); cf. Watts 2004, 364, who reads *Laf-* as *Las-*.

⁵ LDB 445b (Suffolk 73,1).

evidence to support either assertion. Davis (1954, xxxviii; citing Douglas 1932, 35, 123–24) then noted that an *Ædestan* recorded in the list as holding 30 acres in Ampton must be the *Athelstan* whose former land there featured in a charter of Abbot Albold (1114–19), proving that the Bury list was compiled no later than Albold's abbacy. Reginald Lennard (1959, 359) dissociated the Feudal Book from Abbot Baldwin for the odd reason that it referred to Baldwin by name 'as one would hardly expect ... in his lifetime'; in fact such usage has contemporary parallels in the 'Inventory' of Bishop Leofric of Exeter (Conner 1993, 230–35) and a survey by Baldwin's predecessor Leofstan (Robertson 1939, 192–201, 440–47). With regard to the Bury list, Lennard considered its fiscal assessments to be too different from those in LDB for the texts to be contemporary and yet so close that the peasants in the list must be the successors of those present in 1086. For Galbraith, returning to the topic late in life, a private survey such as that proposed by Douglas no longer had any part in his model of the Domesday inquest (Galbraith 1974, 76–78).⁶ Seizing on Lennard's comments and combining them with a dismissive remark by Abbot John Northwold that he misdated to 1215–29 (Galbraith 1974, 74, 77–78; cf. Douglas 1932, xxi–xxii; Thomson 1980, 6, 123–26), Galbraith sought to provide some of the underpinning that his original assertions had lacked and which he then restated: the Feudal Book had nothing to do with Baldwin and the Bury list probably belonged 'early in the reign of Henry I'.

There the debate has pretty much rested ever since, without anyone really noticing that the emperor was in need of a bit more clothing. Some have countered Galbraith's rejection of the role of private surveys in the Domesday inquest (Harvey 1980, 122–25; Baxter 2011, 281–82). Others have accepted Galbraith's interpretation as if fact and without question (e.g. Thomson 1980, 16 and n.63), while some have merely observed that the origins of the Feudal Book remain uncertain and require more study

⁶ See for example Holt 1987 and 2001 for a useful overview of Domesday studies and review of problems, old and new; and cf. Roffe (2000, 10–16) and Flight (2006, 2–10) for stimulating 'nonconformist' surveys of the historiography.

(Clarke 1985, 56). More recently, David Roffe (2000, 41–42, 142) has downplayed the differences in fiscal assessments between the Bury list and LDB, suggesting that the list was ‘very close in date to the Domesday inquest’, while Stephen Baxter (2009, 415–16) has presented strong evidence that the LDB record of the abbey’s estates was indeed based on a seigneurial return supplied by Abbot Baldwin. Clark (1987, 7, n.5, 9) simply noted the debate and offered a compromise date of ‘(?)c.1100’ for the compilation of the Bury list, although she observed that the production of such a list would be ‘consonant with Baldwin’s known policies’. Although the reconstruction of these policies (Gransden 1981, 68–69) is in part based on the evidence of the Feudal Book and is thus open to a charge of circularity, it is not wholly so. There are, for instance, additions made during Baldwin’s abbacy to Leofstan’s earlier survey of the abbey’s possessions (Douglas 1928; Robertson 1939, 192–201, 440–47; Clarke 1985, 55–56), a survey that also demonstrates their pre-existing interest in such matters. More circumstantially, Baldwin’s background as both monk at Saint-Denis in Paris and prior of its dependency at Lièpvre in Alsace (Licence 2014, 107) probably acquainted him with the more detailed polyptychs and surveys of continental practice that could name not just peasant tenants but also their wives and children (Davis 1987, 21–22, 30–39; Bates 2014, 18–20).

So where does this leave us? It is obvious that the Bury list fossilizes part of a record of abbey tenants and their holdings made at some point between the preparations for the *descriptio* of 1086 and before—at the latest—the charter concerning Æðelstan’s former land in Ampton issued in 1114 × 1119. No subsequent writer has yet provided a substantive reason to reject the initial analysis by Douglas, namely that this record was finalized between William II’s accession in 1087 and Abbot Baldwin’s death in 1097 and probably earlier rather than later in that period. In the light of the more recent research outlined above, the most likely model is that a private survey prepared in conjunction with the *descriptio* of 1086 was adapted by Baldwin to protect his abbey’s interests shortly after William I’s death and that this became the Feudal Book text that was

subsequently copied into the *Registrum Nigrum*. In other words, the material contained in the Bury list probably originated in 1086–87.

There is further evidence to support this conclusion. The Bury list includes three tenants it names as *Frebern*—at Hessett, Timworth and *Huntefelde* (probably an alternative name for Whatfield: see above)—with the latter *Frebern* holding 5 acres and identified as *presbiter* (Douglas 1932, 31, 35, 43).⁷ The spelling *Frebern* is more likely to represent *Friebern*, an Old French reflex of Continental Germanic *Fridebern*, than a hypothetical Old English **Frēobeorn* (Feilitzen 1937, 253–54; Clark 1987, 13, 28). The *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* notes no corresponding names except those in LDB, which records four instances in 1066 (*Frieb 'n'* twice, *fredeb 'nus*, *friebernus*) referring to perhaps two individuals (Probert forthcoming).⁸ LDB also records a solitary 1086 instance of *frieb'*, which could represent either Old French *Friebern* or a similar reflex of Continental Germanic *Fridebert*.⁹ This *frieb'* was described as *p[res]b[ite]r* (usually implying someone more than thirty years old: Barrow 2007, 45) and as a *vavassor* (undertenant) of King William from whom he held half-an-acre in alms at Coddenham, which is only 8¼ miles (13.3 km) from Whatfield. The rarity of the personal name(s), the priestly status and the relative proximity of their small holdings combine to render it highly likely that the *Frebern presbiter* of the Bury list was the same person as the *frieb' pb'r* of LDB and consequently that a date for the Bury list close to 1086 is to be preferred.

THE PERSONAL NAMES

There is good reason for all this nit-picking over the precise date of the Bury list. The key point, as Clark made clear, is that if it reflects the

⁷ Douglas silently expands abbreviations in his edition and for convenience the expanded forms are cited here.

⁸ LDB 62a, 63a, 396a, 411b (Essex 30,44; 30,50; Suffolk 25,82; 32,6). The *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* is published online: <www.pase.ac.uk>.

⁹ LDB 447a (Suffolk 74,16).

situation in *c.*1100 (the dating that she opted for) then it records people mostly born and named before *c.*1080 (unless post-baptismal naming is postulated), although she also suggested that some could have been baptized as much as sixty-five years before *c.*1100 and their parents correspondingly earlier (Clark 1987, 7 and n.29). Yet if, as is probable, the list originated in 1086–87, then the majority of the people it records were born before *c.*1066 and the personal naming habits it reflects will therefore be pre-Conquest. This has a considerable impact on the interpretation of the onomastic data contained in the Bury list, as will be seen below. In so far as the bynames are concerned, however, then these may have been acquired in the course of life and so be of later date than the personal names.

Although the main interest of the present paper lies in the bynames, it is worth a brief foray into the personal names to get an anthroponymic flavour of this population of Suffolk peasants. It was this sociological aspect of the list that drew Clark's attention, particularly the extent to which names of continental origin had impinged on peasant naming-behaviour—and who their exemplars might be—in what she presumed to be, predominantly, the first generation named since the Conquest. It is this continental element within the Bury list that will also provide the main thread here, although the revised dating means that we cannot presume that such an element arose mainly through post-Conquest changes in naming practices. Instead, it is also necessary to consider whether such changes were already occurring in this peasant population before the Conquest or whether the continental names in the Bury list in fact represent people of continental rather than insular origin.

As Clark observed, some aspects of the Bury list are too uncertain to allow for statistical precision when analysing its content. Nevertheless, an extensive spreadsheet of the data created as part of the 'Early Bynames' scoping project at the University of the West of England has enabled more detailed—albeit at this stage provisional—analyses than she perhaps allowed. Furthermore, for some analytical purposes it does not matter whether a name that occurs thirteen times in the list as *Stanard* (Douglas 1932, 25, 29–30, 34–36, 41) represents Old English *Stānheard* or, less

probably, Continental Germanic *Stainhard* (Feilitzen 1937, 371–72); what is relevant is the consistency of spelling and the likelihood that the scribe(s) intended the same single name in each instance. Thus there are four instances of *Ordric* (Douglas 1932, 26–27, 32) that must represent Old English *Ordrīc* but also one instance of *Odric* (Douglas 1932, 26), which could be a misspelling of *Ordrīc* or a form of the Continental Germanic name *Audric* (Clark 1987, 30). Yet this *Odric* had the patronymic *Tederi* (genitive), which is more likely to represent an Old French reflex of the common Continental Germanic name *Theodric* (or perhaps *Theodher*) than an apparently unrecorded Old English name **Pēodhere* (Feilitzen 1963, 55; Morlet 1968, 68; Clark 1987, 30, 32; *contra* Tengvik 1938, 209). This tips the balance in favour of interpreting the form *Odric* as *Audric* rather than *Ordrīc* and suggests careful differentiation in spelling on the part of the scribe(s) of the Bury list.

That said, there are variations in the rendering of the Old English first elements *Ælf-*, *Æðel-*, *Beorht-* and *Ēad-* and occasional inconsistencies such as between the forms *Turchil*, *Turchildus*, *Thurchildus* and *Turchetel* (Douglas 1932, 34, 38, 40–41) used to represent Old Norse *Þorke(till)*, Old Danish *Thurkil*, etc. (cf. Insley 1994, 20–23, 414–19). Overall, however, such variations are far less frequent than might be expected and there is generally an internal orthographic consistency to the text, which suggests both that there was a policy of standardization during its composition (cf. Probert 2012, 7–8) and that there was little if any intermediate corruption between that composition and the surviving copy made in c.1190. Although continental Latin orthographical conventions prevail, in that the insular characters <ð> (thæt or eth), <þ> (thorn) and <ƿ> (wynn) are not used, less than 10% of the masculine personal names have a Latin inflectional ending (such an assessment is more difficult with regard to the feminine names). Most of these occur in Cosford Half-Hundred, where they occur in half of all the entries, whereas in the other two hundreds they represent less than 5% of the total, so it may be that the entries for Cosford Half-Hundred were composed in a different stint.

With these points in mind and therefore regarding occurrences of a consistent spelling as representing a single name (even if that single name

is open to multiple interpretations), then there are about 221 (± 7) different personal names recorded among the 698 named tenants in the Bury list and about 108 (± 3) different personal names recorded among the 158 bynames of relationship, with 48 personal names occurring in both groups. An uncertain number of people occur more than once (unnamed tenants are ignored for present purposes); but the list records a population of somewhere between 440 and 670 individuals among the 698 named tenants together with between 110 and 150 individuals implied by the 158 bynames of relationship.¹⁰ These bynames are discussed later and the focus for the remainder of this section will be on the personal names of the tenants present in 1086–87.

The overwhelming majority of the names are masculine and of insular origin. There are 647 instances (92.7% of 698) comprising about 196 personal names (88.7% of 221) that are certainly male, of which 447 instances (64%) and 104 names (47%) are unambiguously Old English and a further 50 instances (7.2%) and 16 names (7.2%) are probably so. Of the remaining masculine names some 68 instances (9.7%) and 39 names (17.6%) are best interpreted as Old Danish, Old Norse or Anglo-Scandinavian; and although some of these could theoretically represent men of Norman or indeed Scandinavian origin, others certainly and most probably represent men of insular birth. In addition, there are 37 instances (5.3%) and 22 names (10%) that are certainly female, of which 33 instances (4.7%) and 19 names (8.6%) are Old English. There are also 14 instances (2%) in which the gender is ambiguous, including 4 out of 5 instances of *Lefget* (Douglas 1932, 26–27, 30, 32, 36), which could represent either Old English *Lēofgēat* (m.) or *Lēofgyð* (f.), and 3 out of 5 instances of *Ælfget* (Douglas 1932, 25, 27, 34–5, 40), which could similarly represent either Old English *Ælfgēat* (m.) or *Ælfgyð* (f.) (cf.

¹⁰ Estimates of population represent the minimum and maximum numbers of individuals who can be represented by the different personal names and combinations of name-with-byname whilst allowing for the possibility of multiple holdings within or between estates.

Feilitzen 1937, 173–74, 311–12). Overall, the 698 named tenants in the Bury list include 650 instances (93.1%) using about 187 different personal names (84.6%) of probably insular origin.

By contrast, and to return to our continental thread, there are 34 instances (4.9%) comprising 24 different personal names (10.9%) that are very probably of continental origin and a further 14 instances (2%) and 10 names (4.5%) for which a continental rather than insular etymology seems preferable. Most of these names were discussed or noted by Clark (1987) and there is little to add here except in a few cases. With the forms found in the Bury list given in brackets where they differ from the head-form, six names appear in probably Old French forms: *Wigulf* (*Giulf*), *Radulf* (*Raulf*, *Raulfus*), *Robert* (*Robertus*), *Russel*, *Walter* and *William* (*Willelmus*); a further eighteen names are also very probably of continental origin: *Baldwin* (*Balduin*), *Coleman* (adopted from Old Irish), *Durand*, *Fulcard*, *Grimbald* (*Grimbold*), **Haganhild* (*Hagenild*), *Hereman* (*Ermand*), *Hubert* (*Hubertus*), *Hugo*, *Meintet* (*Mantat*), *Richard* (*Ricardus*), *Rotbert* (*Rotberto*, *Rotbertus*, here treated as distinct from *Robert*), *Sigibodo* (*Sebode*), *Thankric* (*Tanri*), *Theodric* (*Tedricus*), *Theodbodo* (*Titebud*), *Warin* and *Winterhard*. Of these twenty-four names only two require further comment. A Continental Germanic feminine name **Haganhild* was proposed for the forms *Haganild*, *Hagenild* found in the *Durham Liber Vitae* (McClure and Rollason 2007, 58) and would suit the *Hagenild* of the Bury list (Douglas 1932, 29), while the form *Mantat* (Douglas 1932, 27) is echoed in an eleventh-century English will and both probably represent the Continental Germanic name *Meintet* (Förstemann 1900, cols 1080, 1387; Whitelock 1930, 66, 177). The second category of names, those ten for which a continental rather than insular etymology seems preferable, comprise: *Audric* (*Odric*, discussed above), *Boio*, **Cazwin* (*Casuen*), *Folchere* (*Fulcher*), *Fredo*, *Friebern* (*Frebern*, also discussed above), *Hardwin* (*Harduin*), **Lungwin* (*Lunguin*), *Reri* (*Reeri*) and the Biblical name *Salomon*. Again, most of these were discussed by Clark and the only ones requiring further comment are the forms *Casuen* and *Lunguin* (Douglas 1932, 28, 42). **Cazwin* is suggested for *Casuen* on the basis of Continental Germanic *Cazoin* and **Lungwin* for *Lunguin* on the basis of a

handful of Continental Germanic names in *Lung-* (Förstemann 1900, cols 363–64, 1064–65), although both protothemes appear rare even in continental contexts. It remains debatable as to whether some other forms in the Bury list—such as *Godlef* (Douglas 1932, 32; on which Feilitzen 1963, 49; Clark 1987, 29)—are more or less likely to be of continental rather than insular origin and vice versa, but the selection made here has erred towards the conservative. Nevertheless, it is unlikely to be far off the mark and the proposed corpus of 48 instances of probably continental personal names (in contrast to the 650 instances of probably insular ones) provides a reasonable basis for further discussion.

To return to the question posed earlier in this section, do these continental personal names represent pre- or post-Conquest changes in native naming-behaviour or the presence of continental incomers among the native population? The entries in which they occur provide few overt clues. In only six instances is the tenant's name qualified with a byname of relationship, although these are revealing. In one instance—that of *Odric Tederi* (Douglas 1932, 26), discussed above and interpreted as 'Audric [son of] Theodric'—both names are probably of continental origin. In the other five instances, however, the parental names are all Old English: *Grimbold Ulurici filius*, *Durand Æilmari filius*, *Tedricus Paue filius*, *Ricardus Ulfui filius* and *Hugo Ælurici filius* (Douglas 1932, 28, 38, 43–44), representing *Wulfric*, *Æðelmær*, *Pawa*, *Wulfwig* and *Ælfric* respectively (Clark 1987, 28–32). In these five instances we have proof that people with Old English names had children with Continental Germanic names, although we do not know if these names were bestowed before or after the Conquest; if the latter, then presumably it would need to be early enough for the bearers to be of land-holding age by 1086–87. To these five could be added the *Meintet* (*Mantat*) and *William* (*Willelmus*) who had brothers with the Old English names *Ælfgeat* (*Ælfget*) and *Ælfwine* (*Ælfuino*, ablative) respectively (Douglas 1932, 27, 38), which show that local naming-behaviour could include both continental and insular names in the same family but not whether these were exactly contemporary. Do *Meintet* and *William* here represent younger children born after the Conquest and now in their teens in 1086–87, for instance,

whereas their elder brethren Ælfgeat and Ælfwine had been named within the prevailing pre-Conquest traditions? It is a neat hypothesis, and if correct would suggest that a few local families adopted the new possibilities at a very early date. Yet as Clark and others remind us, some names of Continental Germanic origin were known in England long before the Conquest, initially mainly as those of moneyers but later as those of a small minority of the land-owning elite (Clark 1987, 12–13; Insley 2003, 391–93). It is this latter group that may offer us a way forward.

In his survey of pre-Conquest ‘Anglo-Frenchmen’ (those people with names of continental origin who held English estates on the eve of the Conquest), Lewis (1995, 140–44) included several in Suffolk and some—Alan with 1 carucate (120 acres), Fulcard with 27 acres, Herman with 10 acres—whose holdings were on a par with some recorded in the Bury list. When the Bury holdings are divided according to size—those of more than 30 acres, those of between 15 and 30 acres and so on down to those of only 1 acre or less—then it is notable that the forty-eight instances of probably continental personal names occur throughout the range. There is, however, a disproportionately high percentage occurring towards the top of the range. Of the 698 named tenants overall, only 13.1% had holdings of 15 acres or more whereas the proportion among those with continental names is 33.3% (sixteen out of the forty-eight instances). The difference appears significant but the composition of this group remains ambiguous. Are they like Lewis’s ‘Anglo-Frenchmen’, arriving before the Conquest and perhaps in the entourage of Abbot Baldwin or some other local magnate such as Ralph the staller; are they people of continental origin who had come to England with or since the Conquest; are they English and represent the slow pre-Conquest adoption of continental names into the native name-stock; or are they English teens who came into their holdings young and whose parents had been quick to assimilate the naming-behaviour of the new post-Conquest elite? The answer may well be ‘some of all four of these’, although Richard son of Wulfwig with 60 acres and Hugo son of Ælfric with 15 acres (Douglas 1932, 43–44) presumably belong in one of the latter two categories. On the other hand, Bury tenants with probably continental names occur at the bottom of the scale as well and here the

proportion is the same as among the other tenants: of the 698 named tenants, 14.7% had holdings of 1 acre or less and among those with continental names it was 14.6% (7 out of the 48 instances). One was Walter, who held just half an acre (Douglas 1932, 37); and it is hard to envisage circumstances in which he would have crossed the Channel to hold so scant a plot of English soil, even as a minor member of a greater man's entourage. Here we surely have an example of the use, by baptism or choice, of an Old French personal name by an English peasant. He was not alone, for among those holding only 1 acre were *Cazwin, Coleman, one of the Rotberts, Russel, Sigibodo and Theodbodo, while Meintet and his brother Ælfgeat held only 1½ acres between them (Douglas 1932, 27, 30, 35, 39, 42–43). It is of course possible that some also held land elsewhere, perhaps on an abbey estate not included in the Bury list; but it is unlikely that all can be accounted for in this way.

Clark (1987, 7–9, 17) regarded the adoption of continental names as predominantly a matter of fashion, with the Bury peasants imitating the naming-behaviour of their social superiors, but an alternative model would be that of godparental naming. Although contemporary evidence is scant it is apparent that the appointment of baptismal sponsors could be used as a means of reinforcing or extending kinship and other social affiliations (Bennett 2006, 115–27); it is also apparent, albeit mainly from later evidence, that the adoption of a godparent's name was often a fundamental part of the christening rite (Bennett 2006, 129, 135–40; Niles 2006). To some extent this merely postpones rather than resolves the problem, however, because fashion requires exemplars and godparents need to be present in the community however widely that is defined. While Richard's father Wulfwig may have been of sufficient wealth (to judge by his son's 60 acres) to associate his son's baptism with a local lord, be that a pre-Conquest 'Anglo-Frenchman' or a post-Conquest 'Norman', the parents of children such as Russel, Sigibodo and Meintat are more likely to have been limited to those closer to their own status or perhaps the officiating priest. Whatever the precise mechanism, for an English peasant to bear a baptismal name of continental origin in 1086–87 requires that such a name already existed within, or within the knowledge of, the parents'

community. It is also worth noting that of the twenty-one ecclesiastics occurring in the Bury list (see below) only two had clearly continental names.

So what has this brief survey of the personal names of the 698 named tenants in the Bury list revealed? The vast majority of the names chosen amongst this population of Suffolk peasants, born mostly before *c.*1066, came from the native and predominantly Old English name-stock, and the names of probably continental origin constitute a small minority. A small minority, but it is nevertheless a significant one. Not all of them were borne by people of continental origin and it is apparent that some represent either the gradual penetration of continental names into even the lowest strata of pre-Conquest English society or else the adoption of the invaders' personal names almost before the Conquest was complete. It gives us an impression of the onomastic dynamics within this peasant population, to inform and to be refined by further research. With this in mind we can now turn to the bynames recorded for nearly 320 (45.4%) of the named tenants in the Bury list, which was an aspect of the Bury material that received less attention in Clark's paper.

THE BYNAMES

It is rarely possible in a record such as the Bury list to distinguish between a descriptor coined by a scribe for the purpose of identification and a secondary appellation used colloquially, if only transiently, in the course of a person's life. Even an obviously artificial descriptor such as 'his son' is only a contextual shade away from a byname such as 'Eadwine's son', while Latin *uidua* 'widow' might be either a translation of a vernacular byname or a scribal coining. These problems are not new in onomastic studies (e.g. McKinley 1990–91; Clark 1992b, 567; McClure 2007). Nor can we assume that because a byname was not recorded for a person that they did not have one (or several). A maxim from archaeology is pertinent here: 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence'. That not everyone in the Bury list is recorded with a byname may simply mean that a scribe did not deem it relevant for the purpose of his document to record it. That having been said, we can only work with what we have got.

Gösta Tengvik included the then recently-published Bury material in his study of Old English bynames (Tengvik 1938), but there are significant omissions and inconsistencies in his work (cf. Clark 1992a, 469–70) and at times he seems less interested in the ‘dead ends’ that did not survive to become later medieval or modern surnames. Nevertheless, although Tengvik’s book needs revision to reflect subsequent research, sources unavailable to him and modern editions of some of those that were, his study remains a valuable point of reference in what follows. The approach adopted here is to consider the Bury list’s assortment of descriptors and bynames, both Latinized and vernacular, under the four broad categories generally adopted in the study of surnames: occupational names (roughly 23% of those in the list); names of relationship (49%); locative names (8%); and nicknames (20%). Although a few bynames are sufficiently ambiguous in origin or meaning as to be treated here under two different categories, only one remains utterly opaque: *Goduine Blurf* (Douglas 1932, 27), for which the suggestion by Clark (1987, 27) that it represents a blundered abbreviation of Old English **Brūnwulf* is unconvincing. As with the survey of the personal names there is not space here to catalogue each byname in detail, although particular attention is given to the extent to which continental influence can be detected.

OCCUPATIONAL NAMES

Taking ‘occupational’ in its broadest sense so as to include names indicative of status (McKinley 1990, 131), there are seventy-one instances of such bynames in the Bury list. They record twenty-seven different terms, mostly in Latin but with nine in Old English. The most obvious ‘status name’ is Latin *uidua* ‘widow’, used twelve times and all for women with Old English names. There are also three Latin terms denoting ecclesiastical status—*clericus* ‘clerk’ (2), *diaconus* ‘deacon’ (3) and *presbiter* ‘priest’ (16)—of whom only *Raulfus clericus* (Douglas 1932, 35) and *Frebern presbiter* (discussed above) bore obviously continental names, although four had Scandinavian names that could conceivably be of Norman rather than insular origin. Given that widows and the clergy are likely to be among the older members of a community, the predominance

of Old English names may be unsurprising at this date. An oddity best noted at this point is an instance of *cerceman* that probably represents Old English *cyriceman* ‘church-man’ and in later use tended to mean ‘clergyman’ but also ‘churchwarden’ (Douglas 1932, 28; Tengvik 1938, 243; Thuresson 1950, 167). Yet the bearer had the Old English feminine name *Ælfflæd* (*Ælfled*), which invites speculation: did she have a role in looking after a church or was she the wife or widow of a churchwarden, for instance; or should the byname be taken as a nickname with some other sense, perhaps pejorative or ribald?

After these terms the sense of ‘status’ shades increasingly into that of ‘occupation’ with two instances of Latin *prepositus* ‘reeve, provost’ and five of Old English *hægweard* ‘hayward’, suggesting roles in estate management and all borne by men with Old English names (Tengvik 1938, 252–53, 266; Thuresson 1950, 101–02, 107, 168–69; Latham 1980, 369). For the remaining terms the sense is clearly occupational. With discussion of some terms to follow, and with all occurring only once unless stated, those given in Latin are *aurifaber* ‘goldsmith’ (2), *bercarius* ‘shepherd’, *equarius* ‘groom’, *faber* ‘smith’ (7), *mango* ‘monger’ (2), *mercator* ‘merchant’, *molendinarius* ‘miller’ (2), *pellicarius* ‘pelterer’ (2), *pistor* ‘baker’, *porcarius* ‘swineherd’, *sutor* ‘shoemaker’ (2) and *textor* ‘weaver’, while those in Old English are *blodlætere* ‘blood-letter’, *croppere* ‘tree-pruner’, *dæge* ‘dairymaid’, **heallemann* ‘hall-man’ (perhaps with the sense ‘servant’: Tengvik 1938, 253; Thuresson 1950, 133), *horsthegn* ‘horse-thegn’, *hweolwyrhta* ‘wheel-wright’ and **inngerefa* ‘inn-reeve’ (Feilitzen 1939, 130). Both *pellicarii* were on the abbey’s estate at Fornham St Genevieve and may indicate a family or proto-industry that is echoed by the presence of one *Willelmus tanner* there a century later, when an *Ailric Croppars* at Rougham may similarly echo the *croppere* recorded there in the Bury list (Douglas 1932, 28, 36; Tengvik 1938, 264; Latham 1980, 338–39; McKinley 1975, 7; Clark 1992b, 572). Many of the terms denote skilled trades likely to be indicative of older, more established people and again Old English personal names predominate among the bearers, with only *Hubertus faber* (Douglas 1932, 32) having one of clearly continental origin. It is inconceivable that the instances of *mango* (Douglas

1932, 34, 37) could represent the rare Continental Germanic personal name *Manger* (on which Forssner 1916, 186) used as a patronymic and Tengvik (1938, 259; cf. Latham 1980, 288) was surely correct to interpret *mango* as a Latinized form of Old English *mangere* ‘monger, trader’.

Apart from *mango*, the Latin terms tend to be simple ones denoting common occupations whereas those in Old English (with the exception of *dæge* ‘dairymaid’) can be seen as more culturally specific ones that were less easy to translate into Latin and were left in the vernacular. Notable here is the presence of both Latin *equarius* and Old English *horsthegn*, terms that Tengvik (1938, 254) treated as equivalent and rendered as ‘ostler, groom’; yet some distinction in role or status seems implicit in the fact that *Aluwin Horsthein* held 81 acres whereas *Godlef equarius* held only four (Douglas 1932, 26, 32). Although the Bury scribe(s) may have appreciated and here made a distinction between the two, it emphasizes the more general point that vernacular bynames could not always be translated precisely by common Latin terms (McKinley 1990–91, 2–3).

Finally, and in addition to the seventy-one instances noted above, there are two occupational terms that occur as bynames of relationship. These are *Lefstan fabri filius* ‘Leofstan son of the smith’ and *Ulfuine Teperesune* ‘Wulfwine son of the tapper or beer-seller’ (Douglas 1932, 27, 36; Tengvik 1938, 163, 181–82; Thuresson 1950, 91). Less certain are *Goduine Spilemanni filius* and *Lefuine Huntisune* (Douglas 1932, 31, 42), which could represent the Old English occupational terms **spileman* ‘player’ and *hunta* ‘hunter’ respectively but seem more likely to represent the corresponding personal names and are treated as such here (Tengvik 1938, 158, 198, 270; Ekwall 1947, 64–65).

NAMES OF RELATIONSHIP

Bynames indicating a named tenant’s relationship to someone else are by far the largest category of bynames in the Bury list. Discounting those in which a named co-tenant is described simply by a Latin phrase such as *frater eius* ‘his brother’, there are 158 bynames of relationship. Most are patronymics or metronymics in the Latin form *X filius* ‘son of X’, with *X* representing a Latinized genitive form of a parent’s name. Not all of the

bynames describe sons, however—tenants are also identified as daughters, brothers, nephews, sister, husband, wife, father and step-son—nor are all of them given in Latin. Among these are twelve that use Old English *sunu* rather than *filius* and may represent slips by a Latinizing scribe working from an Old English original; in nine instances *sunu* is conflated with the father's name—as in *Æluine Ællicesune* (Douglas 1932, 27; Tengvik 1938, 149)—and these appear to preserve vernacular phrasal forms (Clark 1992b, 568; cf. McKinley 1975, 129–31). There are also two dozen instances in which the byname comprises only a personal name recorded either without inflection (asyndetic) or as a Latin or Old English genitive; all are treated here as patronymics or metronymics. Finally, as noted above, there are two bynames of relationship in which the father's occupation is given instead of his name.

As Clark (1987, 11–12) noted, there is a slightly higher proportion of single-element forms among the patronyms and metronyms than among the named tenants, although it is uncertain if this represents a change in naming-behaviour between the generations or a use of colloquial forms of the parent's name in forming bynames. In either case, the numbers are low and nearly three-quarters of the patronymics and metronymics are from dithematic names. There are some instances in which a parent's name is echoed in that of their offspring, with six repeating the prototheme as in *Æluine Ælfhari filius* (Douglas 1932, 33) and a few instances of alliteration as in the *Æluine Ællicesune* noted above; such small numbers may simply be coincidental. Repetition of the second element occurs in about twenty instances, albeit all confined to the Old English elements *-mæ̅r*, *-rīc* and *-wine* that are common among the other names as well.

A more productive line of enquiry is to compare the linguistic origins of the personal names of the named tenants with those of the previous generation as preserved in the bynames. If we include names such as *Cocc* and *Litemod*, which could be personal names or nicknames (Tengvik 1938, 153, 348; Feilitzen 1945, 85, 88), then fathers, mothers, uncles and the step-father together account for 150 of the instances of personal names recorded as bynames of relationship (the other six being those of siblings,

spouses and a son). As with the named tenants, the overwhelming majority of these names are Old English and masculine, with 113 instances (75.3%) of obviously Old English names of which 96 are masculine, 13 are feminine and 4 could be either. There are also 10 instances (6.7%) of Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian names together with 14 instances (9.3%) of forms such as *Brune* and *Hune* that can be interpreted as either Scandinavian or Old English (Feilitzen 1937, 209, 295; Tengvik 1938, 176, 188). A further 4 names are probably Old English including the obscure *Tiltac* (Douglas 1932, 43), which Tengvik (1938, 226) took to be a scribal error for an Old English **Tiltat* or **Tiltæt*; another possibility would be an Old English **Tillac*, but in either case the first element *Til-* points to an Old English origin (cf. Insley *et al.* 2007, 152–53). Taking these together, names of insular origin account for 141 instances (94%) of those of the previous generation as preserved in the bynames of their children in 1086–87. This is similar to the 93.1% recorded among the named tenants (see above), as are the relative proportions of Old English and Scandinavian names, which suggests that there was no significant shift in local insular naming-behaviour between the two generations born mainly after the Danish conquest in 1016 and before the Norman one of 1066.

What then of the remaining nine instances, those for which an insular origin is either more debatable or unlikely? One of these, *Tederi* (genitive), was discussed above and is probably an Old French reflex of Continental Germanic *Theodric*. The two instances of *Grimbold* (Douglas 1932, 25, 28) represent Continental Germanic *Grimbald* (Clark 1987, 12, 29), while *Gangulf* (Douglas 1932, 29) is more likely to be Continental Germanic *Gangulf* than an unrecorded Old English equivalent (Förstemann 1900, col. 597; Tengvik 1938, 182; cf. Gelling 1953–54, 134). More problematic are two asyndetic instances of *Anger* (Douglas 1932, 36, 41), which could represent Norman *An(s)ger* (from Old Norse *Ásgeirr*, and so on), an unexpectedly early Old French reduced form of West Frankish *Ansgēr* or early instances of the Middle English (but Scandinavian-derived) word *anger* ‘grief’ used as a nickname (Tengvik 1938, 213; Clark 1987, 25–26; Insley 1994, 3 n.9, 39–41, 43–46). Also ambiguous are *Crispi filius* and

Crispini filius (Douglas 1932, 40, 42), which probably represent nicknames derived from Latin *crispus*, Old English *cyrps*, *crisp* or Old French *crep(e)*, *crispin*, all signifying ‘curled’ or ‘curly-haired’, but for which the continental saint’s name *Crispin* cannot entirely be ruled out in the latter instance (Tengvik 1938, 179, 216, 308; Ekwall 1947, 146–47; Feilitzen 1976, 210; Clark 1987, 27). Lastly there is *Dages* (Douglas 1932, 39), which cannot be derived from Old English *Dæg* and is unlikely to be from Old Norse *Dagr* or Old Danish *Dagh* but for which a nickname related to Old French *dague* ‘dagger’ or an Anglo-Norman French personal name **Dag(g)* are possibilities (Tengvik 1938, 208; Insley 1994, 113–14; Hanks *et al.* forthcoming, *s.n.* Dagg).

What is most notable about this small corpus of parents with probably or possibly continental names, however, is that in all but two cases their offspring had Old English names. In fact, even if we discount the debatable names *Anger* and *Crispi(n)* there are nearly as many instances of parents with continental names but children with insular ones in the Bury list as there are of parents with insular names but children with continental ones (discussed above). In the light of what was said earlier, does this scant handful of parents with continental names represent the slow pre-Conquest adoption of such names into the native name-stock; or continental incomers arriving with the Conquest and adopting Old English names as quickly as a few of their neighbours were doing the reverse; or ‘Anglo-Frenchmen’ present since before the Conquest who had assimilated into English culture and were ‘going native’ (cf. Lewis 1995, 136–37)? Such questions cannot yet be answered with certainty.

LOCATIVE NAMES

Bynames identifying someone by reference to a particular location are by far the smallest category found among the tenants in the Bury list, with perhaps twenty-six examples. The majority of these are toponymic bynames that associate the tenant with a specific, named place but some are best regarded as topographic in that they seem to describe a type of location rather than a specific one; there are also three bynames that cannot unambiguously be classified as locative. In all but five instances the

locative bynames are signalled by the Latin preposition *de* ‘from’, while for two of the remainder Latin *ad* ‘at’ is used instead and at least one (*Oftun*) is asyndetic.

It is perhaps best to address the three ambiguous examples first. They are: *Goduine Dernel*; *Leuric de Smidere*; and *Uluric a teslo* (Douglas 1932, 31, 42, 43). *Dernel* represents Old French *darnel* ‘weed grass’ and is probably a nickname but might also be used topographically to refer to a place where such grass grew (Tengvik 1938, 369; Hanks *et al.* forthcoming, *s.n.* Darnell), although 1086–87 seems too early in date for an Old French term to have acquired this topographic sense and the lack of a preposition is also notable. *Smidere* has not been identified as a place-name but may be related to Old English *smiððe* ‘smithy’ or, more probably, represents an occupational term **smiððere* ‘one who works at a smithy’; in this latter case the preposition *de* is presumably a scribal error for *se* or *le*, although these do not otherwise occur in the Bury list. The third example, *a teslo*, could represent the Latin preposition *a* ‘by, from’ with an as yet unidentified toponym *Teslo*, perhaps with Old English *hlāw* ‘tumulus, hill’ as the generic. However, it is more likely to represent a misdivision of Old English *æt þe* (> *atte*), in which case the name could be from Old English *slōh* ‘muddy place’ and the byname a topographic rather than toponymic one (cf. McKinley 1975, 111).

For the bynames that are here regarded as being topographic, the two instances of *de silua* (Douglas 1932, 31, 34) are signalled as such by being rendered in Latin rather than Old English. Latin *silva* ‘wood, thicket’ might refer to a place of work rather than residence (someone involved with wood-cutting or coppicing, for instance) and the use of Latin certainly implies a general application rather than a specific location. The third instance, *Ailuuine de Mor* (Douglas 1932, 31), derives from either Old English *mōr* ‘marsh, barren upland’ or the corresponding Old Norse *mór* and its use as a simplex suggests that it too was meant in a general sense or was a place of only immediately local significance.

The remaining twenty locative bynames from the Bury list all appear to be toponymic and all but one of the places named (*Lithlebyri*) were probably in Suffolk. Eleven of these were identified by Tengvik (1938, 36,

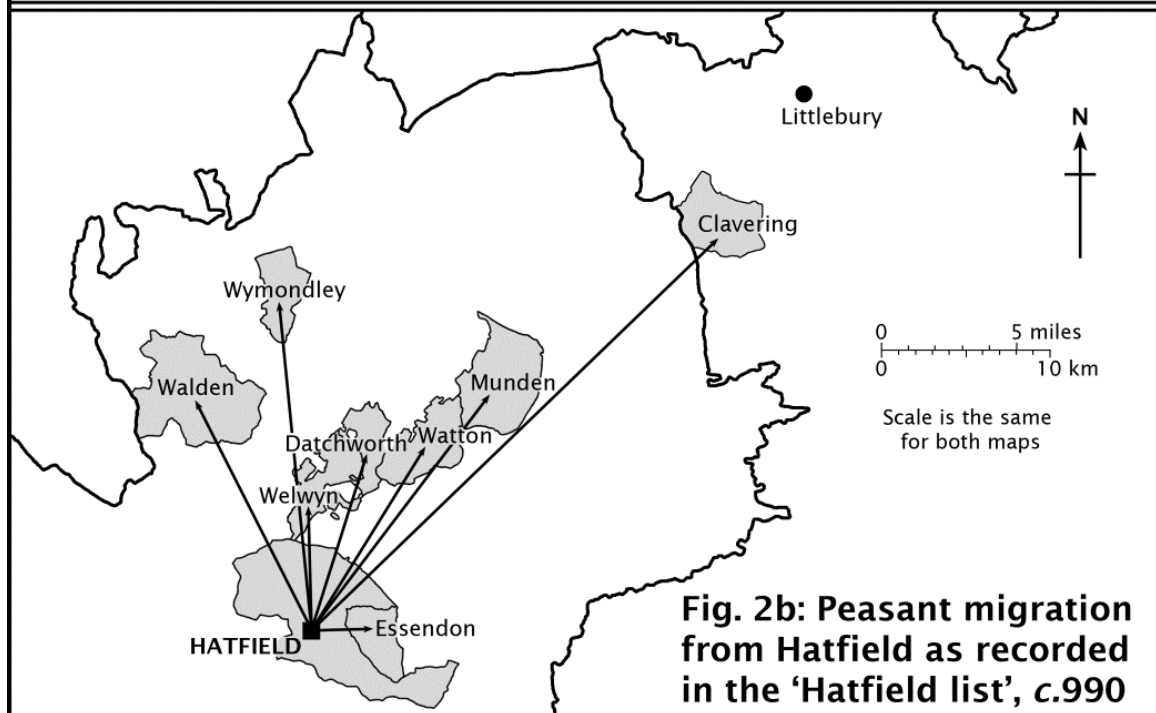
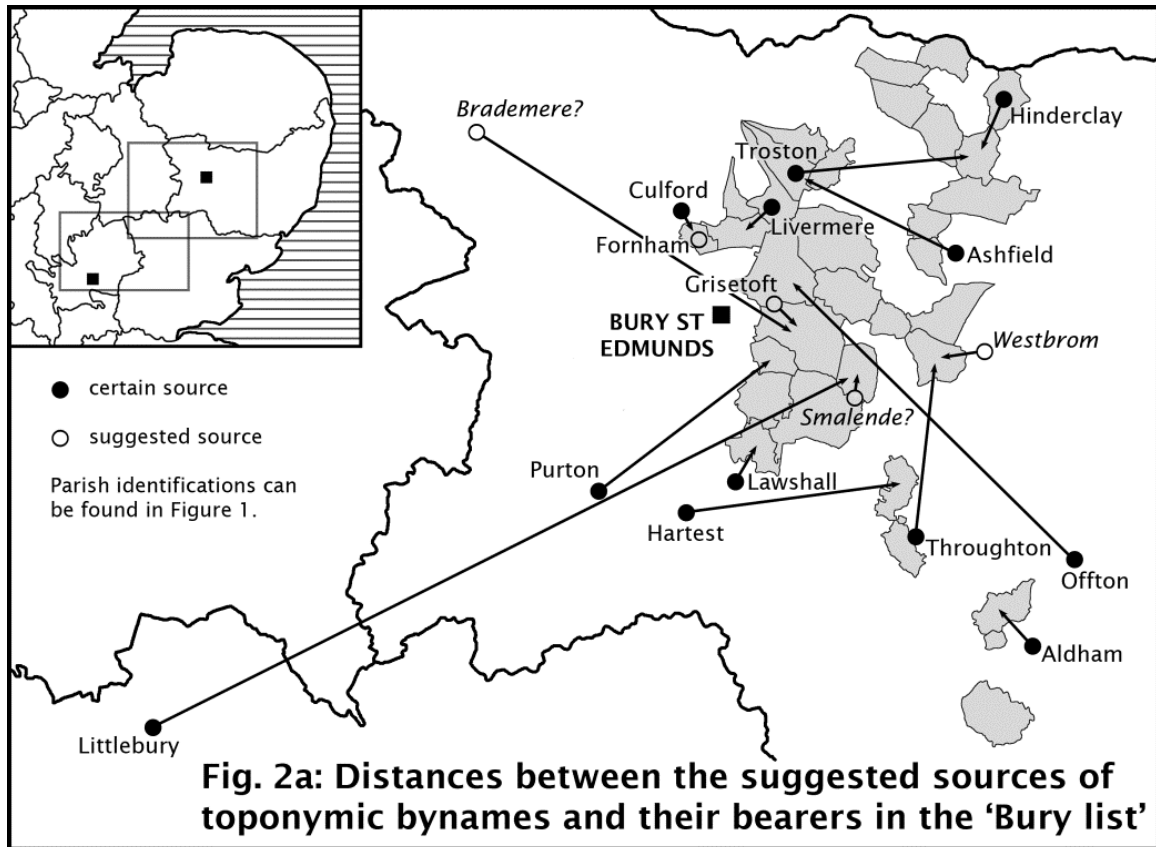
40, 43–46, 52, 126) or are readily identifiable from entries elsewhere in the Feudal Book or the Suffolk folios of LDB: *Aessefelde* (Great Ashfield), *Haldham* (Aldham), *Culeford* (Culford), *Fornham* (Fornham All Saints, St Genevieve or St Martin), *Herthyrst* (Hartest), *Hyldrecl* (Hinderclay), *Laueshel* (Lawshall), *Liuremere* (Great or Little Livermere), *Lithlebyri* (Littlebury, Essex), *Oftun* (Offton), and *Trostune* (Troston). A further three places have been identified by Keith Briggs (pers. comm.): *Grisetuft* (‘Grisetoft’, lost in Rougham and/or Great Barton; cf. Davis 1954, 3, 18–19), *Priditune* (Purton Green in Stansfield) and *Trugetun* (‘Throughton’, lost near Kettlebaston).¹¹ The other six places occurring in the bynames are *Brademere*, *Galhho*, *Osham*, *Smalende*, *Westbrom* and *Westmere*. *Brademere* may be the *Brademere* in Mildenhall that the *Kalendar of Abbot Samson* records as being held by abbey tenants in the twelfth century (Davis 1954, 136–37), although Tengvik (1938, 38) linked it to the Domesday hundred-name *Brademere* and in discussion of which Anderson (1934, 96–97) also noted a Broad Mere in Troston. *Galhho* also occurs in the *Kalendar* as the byname of a Bury tenant Richard *de Galhoe* in 1186–88 (Davis 1954, 6, 9), which suggests a lost place with Old English *hōh* ‘heel, hill-spur’ as the generic rather than a form of Old English *gealga* ‘gallows’. *Osham* and *Smalende* remain unidentified, although the latter is perhaps from Old English *smæl* ‘narrow, small’ and *ende* ‘end’ and may be related to the area now called Smallwood Green in the north-west corner of Bradfield St George parish. *Westbrom*, as Tengvik (1938, 53) suggested, is probably the *Westbroms* that was held of the abbey as part of Pulham manor in Wetherden and Haughley in the late fifteenth century (Copinger 1904–07, V, 339). Finally, *Westmere* is also unidentified, although if the place was not local then the abbey tenants *Aluric* and *Stannard de Westmere* who were holding land in Rougham in 1186–88 (Davis 1954, 18) may have been descendants of the *Goduy ad Westmere* recorded there in the Bury list (Douglas 1932, 28).

¹¹ I am grateful to Keith Briggs for discussing these and several other names with me and for sharing with me some of the material he has collected on Suffolk place-names.

There are several points worth noting about the places represented in these toponymic bynames. Firstly, and most obviously, all apparently denote places in East Anglia and there are no examples of continental place-names. In addition, most of those that can be identified were associated with places where the abbey had estates in 1086 and none except for Littlebury lay more than about 15 miles from the estate in which the bearer was recorded as a tenant in the Bury list. This local nature of the toponymic bynames is perhaps unsurprising among a predominantly peasant population; but why were people thus identified?

Clark (1987, 10) suggested that a toponymic byname ‘identifies a landholder as domiciled in a different vill’. This hypothesis can be tested in those five instances where the byname relates to another of the estates recorded in the Bury list and doing so provides considerable support for it. *Godui de Fornham* was recorded in Fornham St Genevieve; *Syric de Grisetuft* was recorded in Rougham and there was also a *Syric* in Great Barton; *Raulfus de Liuremere* (the only person with a continental name occurring with a locative byname) is presumably the *Raulf* recorded in Great Livermere; *Goduine de Trostune* may correspond to the *Goduine Hulnodi filius* recorded in Troston; and *Godric de Hyldrecl* might be any of the four Godrics in Hinderclay, although all four were there recorded with other bynames (Douglas 1932, 25, 29, 36–37, 39–40).

A lack of data means that the remaining fifteen instances cannot be checked, however, and it would be unwise to presume that the same model holds for all. An obvious alternative would be that the toponymic byname refers to a person’s place of origin rather than domicile. Peter McClure (1979) examined migration in fourteenth-century England on the basis of locative surnames and developed a methodology to improve analysis of such studies. In the case of Nottinghamshire, for example, he found that ‘most rural immigration ... involved journeys originating no further than three parishes away’ and that three-quarters originated within a radius of 20 miles (McClure 1979, 175). The Bury data are far too scant for similar analysis but the distances implied by the toponymic bynames are of the same order. Another point of comparison here is with the ‘Hatfield list’ of



c.990 (Pelteret 1986, 471–86, 509–12; Dinçer 2003, 136–49, 155–57; cf. Insley 2003, 383–85), which recorded the migration of peasants away from

Ely Abbey's estate at Hatfield and when mapped produces a pattern of movements and distances very similar to that found in the Bury list (see Figure 2). Von Feilitzen (1976, 197–99), in his study of the names preserved in the Winton Domesday, found that the great majority of English place-names used as bynames originated in the same county (Hampshire) but did not attempt to distinguish between places of origin or residence. Although a mix of both types may underlie the toponymic bynames found in the Bury list, therefore, further studies of similar corpora are needed to clarify the situation with regard to locative byname formation in this period.

NICKNAMES

Finally, there are sixty-three named tenants in the Bury list with bynames that are best described as nicknames, in addition to some already discussed above that might be so. They include at least five of the six basic types of nickname that McKinley (1990, 156–62) proposed for those that gave rise to surnames, although only the first three types are well represented. More than half of the nicknames occurring in the Bury list are in Old English, so those supply all but one of the following examples. Those referring to some aspect of a person's physical appearance include *Ulfuine huitfot* 'Wulfwine white-foot', *Æluric chec* 'Ælfric cheek, or jaw-bone', *Osbern cattlesnese* 'Osbern cat's-nose' and *Godric langhand* 'Godric long-hand' (Douglas 1932, 30, 33, 38, 43; Tengvik 1938, 298–99, 301–02, 319–20). Other nicknames might reflect someone's perceived character or traits, as in *Cenric cres* 'Cyneric elegant' and *Ulstan letig* 'Wulfstan cunning', while *Leuric demere* 'Leofric arbitrator' may also belong here (Douglas 1932, 25, 28, 40; Tengvik 1938, 249, 343, 348; Clark 1992b, 572). Nicknames derived from animals include *Goduine hert* 'Godwine hart', *Ædui mus* 'Eadwig mouse' and *Ailmer bar* 'Æthelmær boar' (Douglas 1932, 25–26, 33; Tengvik 1938, 359, 362, 364; Feilitzen 1937, 192). Examples of the other three types are scant but those relating to a person's work may be represented by *Ædmer tuittel* (Douglas 1932, 32) if von Feilitzen (1968, 15) is correct to derive this from **pwitel* 'cutting-tool', while *Ædric hopeheune* 'Eadric hope-for-heaven' (Douglas 1932, 25; Tengvik 1938,

385) exemplifies the type that McKinley saw as originating from oaths and similar expressions. There is no obvious Old English example of a nickname deriving from seasons or festivals in the Bury list but the byname of *Stubhard pape* may derive from Old French *pape* ‘pope’ rather than an Old English personal name **Papa* or Old French *papa* ‘gruel’, and such a nickname could represent someone’s role in a festive pageant or miracle play as well as an austere person (Douglas 1932, 40; Tengvik 1938, 262–63; Hanks *et al.* forthcoming, *s.n.* Pape).

Some nicknames alliterate with the bearer’s personal name, as with the *Cenric cres* noted above and with *Lefstan litle* ‘Leofstan little’ and *Godwine grelling* ‘Godwine fierce one’ (Douglas 1932, 29, 31; Tengvik 1938, 143–44, 321), which if indeed colloquial may have helped them to stick. Others are phrasal, such as the infamous *al fordruncen* ‘wholly drunk’ or *crep under huitel* ‘crawl under blanket (or cloak)’ (Tengvik 1938, 340, 389). These are generally formed by an adjective prefixed to a substantive, as in several examples noted above or those of *godhand* ‘good-hand’ and *fægercild* ‘fair-child’, or a verb plus object, as in *Ædric scaldehere* ‘Eadric scald-hare’ (Douglas 1932, 31; Tengvik 1938, 387; Clark 1992b, 576–77), perhaps denoting a cook. Of the same type is *Ailric brenebrec* (Douglas 1932, 25), which Tengvik (1938, 385) took to mean ‘burn breeches’ but for which Clark (1992b, 575) preferred ‘burn clearing’; in either case, as she points out, such names are ‘unlikely to have been scribal inventions’. Another feature of the nicknames in the Bury list (and of the occupational names discussed earlier) is the complete absence of the definite article in cases where this might be expected; all are asyndetic. There are no examples to parallel those of *Aluric þane reda* or *Alger se pebba* found in some other post-Conquest texts and it is unclear if this represents scribal practice or local vernacular usage.

There is little repetition, and unless the instances of *Anger* discussed above represent *anger* ‘grief’ then only three nicknames occur more than once; significantly, and a point to be considered shortly, these comprise nine of the eleven given in Latin: *niger* ‘black’ (twice), *longus* ‘long, tall’ (thrice) and *rufus* ‘red’ (four times). In two cases these repetitions may involve the same people: the *Ælfuine longus* and *Syricus ruffus* recorded

in Pakenham are probably the same as the *Aelfuine longus* and *Siric rufus* who occur in the adjoining Great Livermere (Douglas 1932, 27, 36). A potentially more telling instance of shared identity is the possibility that the *Lefuin eorl* who held 2 acres in Elmswell (whose nickname may carry an ironic echo of the pre-Conquest Earl Leofwine) was the same as the *Lefuine barun* holding three roods in Hepworth (Douglas 1932, 38, 40), with Old English *eorl* ‘earl, noble’ in the former entry being rendered by Old French *baron* ‘baron, lord’ in the latter.

This possibility leads us to consider the languages used to either form or represent the nicknames in the Bury list. As noted above, the majority are in Old English; there are also a few that may instead derive from Old Norse or Old Danish, such as *frost* (Tengvik 1938, 376). However, what of those recorded in Latin or Old French? For Latin, there are only the *niger*, *longus* and *rufus* already noted and single instances of *calvus* ‘bald’ and *candela* ‘candle’, which may be a straightforward re-Latinization of Old English *candel*. This matches the pattern suggested above with regard to the occupational bynames (and perhaps the use of *de silva* as a topographical term), in that Latin was used for common terms but those that were less easy to translate into classical Latin were left in the vernacular. It reinforces the impression, for the nicknames at least but consequentially for the others as well, that the majority preserve, whether in the vernacular or translation, genuine secondary appellations in colloquial use rather than being scribal creations for the purpose of identification.

If so, then how should we regard the nicknames recorded in Old French? There appear to be nine of these, comprising the *barun*, *dernel* and *pape* already discussed together with *bastard*, *cucuold* ‘cuckold’, *paner* ‘pannier’, *piche le cruste* ‘stab the crust’, *prisun* ‘prison(er)’ and *torce* ‘torch’ (Tengvik 1938, 262, 373, 375, 379, 382, 386–87; Ekwall 1947, 34, 170; Hanks *et al.* forthcoming, *s.n.* Panner). All of the bearers have personal names of Old English or most probably insular origin. None of the Old French terms are necessarily of the ‘simple’ type found translated into Latin and all gave rise to words occurring subsequently in Middle English. As the possible identity of *Lefuin eorl* with *Lefuine barun* shows,

translation cannot be ruled out and we know from additions made to a medical treatise that the Bury scriptorium during Baldwin's abbacy included Latinate scribes with English, Norman and continental hands who could each work on the same project as and when available (Gullick 2014, 200–07). On the other hand, the brothers William and Ælfwine and similar examples among the named tenants discussed earlier may indicate that a few families adopted continental names very quickly after the Conquest. In the subsequent twenty years prior to the compilation of the Bury list it is not unreasonable to suggest that some Old French words were already beginning to filter into the local vernacular or that a nickname coined by French-speakers (perhaps an employer) might stick and become the colloquial secondary appellative of a Suffolk peasant. Whatever the precise circumstances, then, if there is an undertone of poverty rather than table manners in his byname, it is perhaps significant that *Uluric piche le crust* held only half an acre (Douglas 1932, 37).

CONCLUSIONS

Establishing that the Bury list was most probably compiled in 1086–87 and that there were few if any intermediate stages in transmission before the surviving copy was transcribed a century later greatly enhances its onomastic value and the questions that can be asked of the material. A comparison between the personal names of the Bury tenants and those preserved in their familial bynames suggests that there was no significant shift in local insular naming-behaviour between the two generations born mainly after the Danish conquest of 1016 and before the Norman one of 1066. A small proportion of continental names were present in both generations and there is evidence both of parents with insular names and offspring with continental ones and of parents with continental names and offspring with insular ones, as well as of siblings named from both stocks. Four models to explain these data were considered. As well as the assimilation of people of continental origin into local society prior to the Norman Conquest and new arrivals following it, it is likely both that a slow pre-Conquest adoption of continental names into the native name-stock had reached local peasant society and that a few families adopted

continental names very soon after the Conquest. This is a more dynamic pattern of naming-behaviour than has often been supposed.

All of the main categories of byname that later gave rise to surnames occur in the Bury list and most sub-categories are also represented. About half of the bynames are names of relationship, slightly less than a quarter are occupational, a fifth are nicknames and the small remainder are locative. The impression given is of a rich and established tradition of bynames rather than one at an early stage of development. Most of the bynames appear to have been originally in the vernacular (generally Old English, with a few of Scandinavian or French origin) but with common terms and some inflections rendered in Latin. This is understandably most noticeable in the nicknames and occupational names, although vernacular phrasal forms occur among the relationship names as well as the nicknames and a few bare genitival and asyndetic forms are also present. With the exception of the preponderance of the simple Latin *filius X* 'son of X' formula among the relationship names, there is little evidence of any systematic attempt by the recording scribes to Latinize the personal names or bynames. Overall, the balance of probability is that the majority of the bynames recorded in the Bury list preserve, either in the vernacular or in translation, the genuine secondary appellations of the named tenants rather than being scribal inventions.

As this study has demonstrated, there is much of value to be gleaned by considering each body of onomastic material within its own historical, social and scribal contexts rather than as disarticulated specimens. Without these local contexts it is difficult to make accurate assessments of the evidence relating to factors such as the composition of, changes in and external influences on the local name-stock and scribal influence on spellings and content. That having been said, the comparative approach is also vital. Further studies such as that presented here and those by Clark and von Feilitzen are needed, from other social strata and from other parts of the country, before we can clarify the patterns and changes in naming-behaviour during the period between *c.*900 and *c.*1200 that saw many fundamental changes in English society. The Early Bynames scoping project has considered material from Exeter and Winchcombe as well as

Bury St Edmunds and there survive similar corpora elsewhere, not all of them yet in print and by no means all of them covered, however inadequately, in Tengvik's study, and there is a rich vein of comparative material to be tapped in doing so. The work on this is only just beginning.

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